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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 15 December 1992, at 3 p.m.

President:	Mr. MOUMIN (Vice-President)	(Comoros)
later:	Mr. GHAFOORZAI (Vice-President)	(Afghanistan)

- The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina: report of the Secretary-General [143] (continued)

- Implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa [59] (continued)

  (a) Report of the First Committee
  (b) Report of the Fifth Committee

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- General and Complete Disarmament [61] (continued)

  (a) Report of the First Committee
  (b) Report of the Fifth Committee

- Review and implementation of the Concluding Document of Twelfth Special Session of the General Assembly [62] (continued)

  (a) Report of the First Committee
  (b) Report of the Fifth Committee

- Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa [33] (continued)

  (a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid

  (b) Report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa

  (c) Report of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports

  (d) Reports of the Secretary-General

  (e) Report of the Special Political Committee

  (f) Draft resolutions

- United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa [34] (continued)

  (a) Report of the Secretary-General

  (b) Draft resolution

In the absence of the President, Mr. Moumin (Comoros), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 143 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/747)

Mr. GHAFOORZAI (Afghanistan): For the second time in a period of four months the General Assembly is meeting to consider the grave situation in the sovereign State of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the military aggression of the Serbian forces is tending towards the complete liquidation and extermination of cultural, social, economic and humanitarian values, while violating the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and unity.

The continued intransigence of the Serbian leadership in not heeding the international community's call to cease forthwith its acts of aggression and the widespread, systematic violations of human rights inflicted upon the territory and people of Bosnia and Herzegovina poses a clear danger of the conflict spreading southward and necessitates urgent, effective and decisive action by the General Assembly and the Security Council, action that the circumstances call for and that is in line with the collective call of the membership of this Organization.

We share the concern of His Excellency the President of Croatia, who said that the current explosive situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina could send a signal to dissatisfied ethnic groups in other formerly communist countries that the international community, especially the United Nations Security Council, will not act to stop them from using force to achieve their goals. The situation therefore has the potential to ignite a large-scale regional

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

conflict endangering the peace and stability of the region and the world at large.

For the last eight months, despite its grave concern about the situation, despite commendable international efforts made through the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and despite the economic and trade sanctions imposed against Serbia and Montenegro, the world community and this Organization have not been able to help effectively the innocent and victimized nation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Painfully enough, the abhorrent policy of "ethnic cleansing" continues to be implemented. It is therefore time to conclude that the least this Organization can do is remove the unjustifiable embargo, which continues to add to their suffering, and thereby enable the Bosnian people to help themselves. It is the embargo that has contributed to the loss of almost 70 per cent of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is the embargo that has contributed to the imbalance of power and constituted a source of encouragement to the aggressors.

On 16 November this year my delegation took part in the debate in the Security Council on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and there we questioned the validity and justifiability of the embargo against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which seriously hampered their just and inherent right to self-defence. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to state once again that Afghanistan seriously questions the justifiability of the embargo against the country of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In support of our position and for the sake of the record, we should like to state the following.

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

In the view of my delegation, Security Council resolution 713 (1991) alone is ample and conclusive proof that the Security Council has not imposed an embargo on Bosnia and Herzegovina. First of all, that was adopted with regard to the conflict between two sides - Croatia and Serbia and Montenegro - at a time when Bosnia and Herzegovina was not even an issue.

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

Perhaps in no legal or technical sense does Security Council resolution 713 (1991) pertain to Bosnia and Herzegovina, as that resolution was adopted in September 1991 whereas the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina emerged in April 1992.

The part of Security Council resolution 713 (1991) that comes closest to the purported applicability to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is operative paragraph 6, in which the Council

> "Decides, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, that all States shall, for the purposes of establishing peace and stability in Yugoslavia, immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Yugoslavia until the Security Council decides otherwise following consultations between the Secretary-General and the Government of Yugoslavia".
>
> (Security Council resolution 713 1991))

Perhaps it is clear from the paragraph that I have just quoted that the Security Council resolution by which the sanction was imposed related to what, in September 1991, was called Yugoslavia, when Serbia-Montenegro was at war with Croatia. One thing is obvious: the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina of December 1992 is not the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia of 1991.

From the legal standpoint, it may be considered senseless to contend that the sovereign State of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be subjected to arms sanctions because it was once a part of the Socialist State of Yugoslavia. Furthermore, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, after democratically electing its own Government in early 1992, declared independence in February 1992. Subsequently the international community recognized it as a sovereign State and made the same admission with regard to the legitimacy of its Government.

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

Acceptance of the notion that the sovereign State of Bosnia and Herzegovina is subject to the political dictates that the former Yugoslavia was under might contradict our own national announcement of recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a sovereign State.

It is even more painful to see that the embargo on the shipment of arms benefits the Serbian side, which has the active support of the armed forces of the former Yugoslavia, whereas it puts the Bosnian side at a great disadvantage. Moreover, the sanctions are not being implemented decisively.

The Islamic State of Afghanistan, as a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, supported the resolution of the Sixth Extraordinary Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers held in Jiddah earlier this month. I expect that, in line with the serious concern of the Muslim world, the General Assembly will again adopt the draft resolution of which Afghanistan is one of the sponsors.

Under the draft resolution the General Assembly would, inter alia, urge the Security Council specifically to authorize Member States, in cooperation with the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to use all necessary means to uphold and restore the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and specifically to consider exempting the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the arms embargo imposed on the former Yugoslavia by the Council's resolution 713 (1991), which, in the view of my delegation, has been implemented unjustifiably against the country of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Our cosponsorship of and support for the draft resolution is the minimum that Afghanistan can do by way of taking part in the international campaign

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

aimed at bringing about a just and durable peace in the country of Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Balkans. The unholy design of a Greater Serbia will continue in force unless it is checked with the appropriate actions for which the draft resolution calls.

Mr. ABDUL GHAFFAR (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): Day after day, we receive reports on the continuing deterioration of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a result of the continued Serbian aggression without any scruples of conscience. The Security Council has tried to deal with the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a threat to international peace and security, but, regrettably, the Serbian aggression continues and brings in its wake devastation killing and displacement.

Although the United Nations has adopted many resolutions, including those of the Security Council, under Chapter VII of the Charter, the arrogance of the Serbian aggressor has not ceased, and the resolutions have not curbed its arbitrary and inhuman practices, which are indeed chilling and are part of a plan to terrorize the civilian population, not to mention the so-called "ethnic cleansing" aimed at forcing the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina to leave their homes and their land an aim that flies in the face of international humanitarian law and yet is being pursued openly under the eyes of the world.

Despite the international community's repeated condemnations through United Nations resolutions - especially General Assembly resolution 46/242 - the Serbs, in open defiance of international humanitarian law, have continued their acts of barbarity: the rape of women, the murder of women, children and the elderly, and collective massacres. These acts are mentioned in the

(Mr. Abdul Ghaffar, Bahrain)

resolutions of the United Nations - especially Security Council resolution 780 (1992). The international community must use all the means available to it to apprehend the perpetrators of those crimes against humanity and bring them to trial.

The International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia has made every effort to stop the bloodshed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We should like to pay tribute to the Conference's co-Chairmen, Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, for their commendable efforts to secure a peaceful settlement to the conflict. Nonetheless, events have shown that the unavowed objective of the Serbs is to thwart the Conference and to occupy more and more of the territory from which the civilian population is being driven out.

The operations launched recently by Serbian militia - operations concerning which the Security Council adopted a presidential declaration on 9 December 1992 - indicate that Lord Owen was right about the role of the military leaders as regards the planning of an attack to be carried out during the winter months. This would worsen the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

All this strengthens our conviction that it is high time the resolutions of the Security Council were implemented by force, so that the Council may give credence to its tendency to deal with all cases of aggression on an equal footing without distinction.

(Mr. Abdul Ghaffar, Bahrain)

The events now taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina have shown the persistence of the aggressors in defying and rejecting the resolutions of the Security Council, as has been the case recently concerning the ban on military flights. Contrary to expectations that the Serbs would be deterred by those resolutions from persisting in their aggression, all indications seem to point at further deterioration of the situation from one day to the next. It is clear that the Serbian aggressors are unconcerned about international resolutions because they are aware that there is a lack of resolve on the part of the international community to enforce those resolutions, pursuant to the stipulations of Chapter VII of the Charter. We therefore feel that the international community's historic responsibility dictates that the community of nations should take a firm stand against Serbian aggression, deter that aggression and enable it possible for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to exercise its right to self-defence, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter.

In this connection, it is important to lift the embargo on weapon imports by Bosnia and Herzegovina in order for it to be able to defend itself against the Serbian aggressors in accordance with international legality as enshrined in the resolutions of the Security Council, especially resolution 757 (1992), dated 30 May 1992.

Member States should not ignore what is going on in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They must impose a total boycott on the Serbs and break trade and political relations with Serbia and Montenegro.

In order to spare the civilian population any further suffering at this point in time, we are in complete agreement with Mr. Mazowiecki, the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, as well as Mrs. Ogata, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, that the most urgent need at

(Mr. Abdul Ghaffar, Bahrain)

present is to close down the concentration camps and to secure safe corridors for the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the cities and villages affected.

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): The tragedy of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina brings to mind the title of a novel by Nobel Prize Laureate Gabriel García Márquez, Chronicle of a Death Foretold. For a year now, world public opinion has been expecting what has proved to be true, that - with the full knowledge of humankind, of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Secretary-General, of the United Nations Protection Force, of the mediators of the London Conference - the Serbs are carrying out a process of extermination of an entire people that risks becoming the chronicle of a death that has already occurred: in this case, the death of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This House of the world's nations was established so that humankind would never again have to tolerate a State's violating the rights of another with impunity. The Holocaust committed by the Nazi regime meant the massive extermination of Jews in Europe during the Second World War. The new holocaust has an abominable and terrible name: "ethnic cleansing". And it is being practised by the same people who heroically fought the Nazis, whose atrocities it rivals today.

The United Nations has to a great extent built its prestige and achieved its moral stature by struggling against discrimination and against apartheid. The "ethnic cleansing" that is being practised by the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the equivalent of the apartheid of South Africa. Apartheid and "ethnic cleansing" are two faces of the same coin and represent practises that violate the essence of human rights and that flout and offend the values embodied in this Organization.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

The indescribable catalogue of atrocities and war crimes committed by the Serbs includes concentration camps; "ethnic cleansing"; torture; the murder of children, based on the idea that "children must be killed now because later on they will grow up and in any event will have to be killed then". In addition to this, we now have the organized practice of the systematic rape of thousands of women and young girls. Undoubtedly, as Eslavenica Drakulic has pointed out, the world owes something to these women, whose lives have been criminally destroyed in such a cowardly manner. The accounts of some of these women, together with statements by Serbian soldiers, reflect a situation that can only be compared with the worst atrocities and aberrations of nazism.

It has taken too long for the United Nations to recognize that the genocidal practices and the almost unprecedentedly brutal aggression that characterizes the Serbian leaders and those who have encouraged and supported them certainly have nothing to do with good faith.*

Since June 1992, the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been asking the Secretary-General to give support to restricting military flights over his territory and to neutralizing the artillery in order to make it possible to provide humanitarian assistance and put an end to the bombing of defenceless civilian populations. Ambassador Sacirbey has very clearly warned:

> "If these minimum measures are not taken, the aggressor will believe that the world community, represented by the United Nations, could be manipulated in order to subvert the principles of civilized humankind that this noble Organization represents".

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* Mr. Ghafoorzai (Afghanistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

Six months later, it is clear that the aggressors have achieved their goal. They have also succeeded, with constant promises they never keep, and through persecution, terror and "ethnic cleansing", in taking more than two thirds of a Republic that is a Member of the Organization.

The adoption of this draft resolution coincides with a time when the city of Sarajevo is being bombed in a cruel and desperate attempt totally to occupy and subjugate the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The United Nations cannot continue simply to threaten those who are carrying out the destruction of a nation and sacrificing an entire people. The nature of Serbian aggression demands the utilization today of all measures provided for in Chapter VII.

I have just been informed a few minutes ago, before coming to the rostrum, that the people of Pirici, of Kadje and Zaluzje have been bombarded again, in another violation of United Nations resolutions, and that 18 more children have been killed.

During 1992, the international community used all the means available to it, except force, in the search for a political and peaceful solution to this conflict. As a non-permanent member of the Security Council, my delegation has had the opportunity to be involved in each and every one of the steps that the Organization has taken in order to resolve this crisis.

The draft resolution before us reflects the general feeling of the Members of our Organization and appropriately makes a final appeal for the parties directly and indirectly involved in the conflict to heed the resolutions. By setting a time limit, it points out that the delaying tactics have now exhausted the world's patience. The international community would thus be saying that it is not fooled about the course of events and even less

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

about those who are causing these events. Venezuela cannot but associate itself with this condemnation and with the reminder in respect of the scope and consequences of the measures to be imposed.

The alternatives reflected in the draft resolution cannot be clearer: either the United Nations, through its collective security machinery, brings the solutions that are needed or the conflict runs the risk of being internationalized. Clearly, this latter possibility would be catastrophic, and we must do everything possible to avoid it.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

Venezuela will support the initiatives which, upon the recommendation of the Secretary-General and in the light of all information available to it, including this resolution, it deems to be necessary. Venezuela believes that, just as in the recent Security Council decision in the case of Somalia, in the current context it is appropriate for the Secretary-General to propose whatever immediate course of action is necessary.

Six months after the beginning of the peace operations of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), General Hussein Abdel Rezek, the Commander of UNPROFOR in Sarajevo, who is an extremely reliable witness, stated publicly that his mission had failed and that only foreign military intervention can stem Serbian aggression.

The recent statements made by the President of France, the Secretary of State of the United States and the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) indicate that soon the Security Council will at last adopt a resolution that will result in compliance with the prohibition of flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina and the achievement of certain military objectives. Six months will soon have elapsed since that Government requested this measure. In that regard, I believe it is illustrative of the attitude of the Serbian leaders in Bosnia to quote General Morvir Talic of the Serbian Command, who warned that a possible foreign military intervention

"could occur - but the Americans who go there will not come out alive".

The so-called Serbian Minister of Defence, Bugdar Subonic, completes this view by saying

"We will not allow a Muslim Republic to exist in the heart of Europe. We are really assisting Europe and the United States with our actions, so there is no reason for them to intervene."

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

It was not until after the end of the Second World War that the world at large became aware of the atrocities committed by the Nazis. In fact, unknown chapters of that terrible history are still being discovered. Today it would be impossible to say that we are unaware of the recurrence of these crimes against mankind. The mass media have constantly pointed out that before our very eyes another holocaust is taking place - of Muslims this time, as it was of Jews in the past. We must say that the credibility and authority of the United Nations are in these very moments at stake in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr. PATOKALLIO (Finland): Finland is deeply concerned over the grave situation in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and especially in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Peaceful negotiations are the only way of finding a lasting and generally acceptable solution to the conflict. The International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, chaired by Mr. Vance and Lord Owen, is there to help find such a solution. The Conference enjoys Finland's full confidence and support.

In the long run, the peaceful settlement of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina depends on finding a formula for the cohabitation of the three main ethnic groups that make up the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In our view, the constitutional outline recently presented by the Conference's Working Group, chaired by Mr. Ahtisaari, offers the best hope of achieving the necessary modus vivendi between the ethnic groups. Consequently, it is essential that all three parties sit together at the same table to agree to the constitutional future of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the basis of that proposal. We appeal to all parties to overcome the remaining obstacles in this regard.

(Mr. Patokallio, Finland)

The ministerial meeting of the Conference in Geneva tomorrow should make it clear to the parties that the constitutional proposal on the table is the only viable alternative.

I would like to underline that a fait accompli through the use of force is not, and will not be, a solution acceptable to the international community. The Bosnian Serbs must understand that the deeds they have so far accomplished will not stay accomplished.

At the same time it is clear that all parties to the conflict must respect the cease-fire which came into effect on 12 November 1992 and which all of them agreed to in the Mixed Military Working Group. The regrettable fact that there have been violations of the cease-fire does not undo the cease-fire itself, let alone create a right for all to violate it with impunity.

It is axiomatic that such respect also entails respect for the no-fly zone declared by the Security Council. That seems not to be the case, however. The no-fly zone has been repeatedly violated by the Serbian side.

It is in the interests of all of us that the sovereignty of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the resolutions adopted by the Security Council upholding that sovereignty are respected. All outside interference must stop immediately.

This war is characterized by particularly repulsive acts that we had hoped would have remained a thing of the distant past. I am, of course, referring to the odious policy and practice of so-called ethnic cleansing, which is still continuing, to our immense regret and dismay.

Serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, including acts that may constitue war crimes, have been perpetrated. We have

(Mr. Patokallio, Finland)

learned of disgusting forms of violation of human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as the systematic and large-scale rape of Muslim women and girls. It seems evident that human rights abuses are continuously committed by all parties to the conflict. However, findings by the United Nations Special Rapporteur, as well as other evidence, point to the Serbian authorities in de facto control of certain parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of United Nations protected areas in Croatia, and to the political leadership of Serbia proper, as bearing the primary responsibility for the practice of "ethnic cleansing".

In our view, it is the duty of the international community to see to it that all those who have committed grave violations of human rights will be held personally accountable and brought to justice. Finland fully supports the United Nations efforts in this regard.

Words are important, but deeds are even more important. Finland has borne its share to the best of its ability. We are continuing to contribute a battalion to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), as well as a number of military observers.

Finland has committed itself to receiving approximately 200 former detainees and members of their families from Bosnia and Herzegovina. In accordance with the pledge we made at the ministerial Conference in Geneva in July, Finland is also looking into the possibility of granting temporary asylum to another group of former detainees.

In the face of winter, the most pressing humanitarian issue is to alleviate misery and - hopefully - to avert a catastrophe. That, again, necessitates cooperation on the part of those most responsible for creating the conditions for the impending catastrophe.

(Mr. Patokallio, Finland)

Finland, for its part, will make an additional contribution of 25 million Finnish marks - approximately $5 million - to international humanitarian efforts within the former Yugoslavia.

There is an imminent risk of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina spreading to other parts of the former Yugoslavia, particularly Macedonia and Kosovo. If ever there was a case for preventive action, this is it. Finland therefore fully supports the preventive deployment of United Nations peace-keepers in Macedonia, as agreed upon in Security Council resolution 795 (1992) on Friday. Finland has long advocated such preventive deployment in potential conflict areas. Together with our Nordic neighbours, we are currently considering actively the possibility of making a contribution to the implementation of resolution 795 (1992).

Mr. SHKURTI (Albania): The Republic of Albania and the Albanian people are following with attention and great concern developments in the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the former Yugoslavia. They fully endorse the efforts the European Community and the United Nations are making to attain a peaceful and democratic solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. Since Albania is a neighbour of the nations of the former Yugoslavia, this concern assumes even greater proportions for us, bearing in mind that half of the Albanian nation lives in its own territory incorporated in the Yugoslav Federation.

In the Republics of the former Yugoslavia, there are 3 million refugees, displaced persons and people trapped in besieged cities and regions. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1,700,000 persons are in need of external assistance. The number is rising daily in a horrendous spiral. The violation of the right

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

to life and other fundamental human rights is massive and grave, and it stems from the practice of "ethnic cleansing", which is an objective of the war.

It is deplorable that, in spite of the ceaseless endeavours of the European Community and the United Nations, the first war in Europe since the end of the Second World War is not being stopped. On the contrary, it is continuing, claiming the lives of many people and causing incalculable material damage. This war, directed against the peoples of the former Yugoslavia is, in the final analysis, a war against all mankind, against the new world order, against the international organizations and international law. With profound concern, Albania has long been drawing the attention of the world community to the chauvinistic policy of Serbia to create a greater Serbia by force, to the detriment of the other peoples of the former Yugoslavia. This policy, which brought about the destruction of Yugoslavia, began to be implemented in 1981 against the Albania population in Kosovo and afterwards, according to a precise scenario, it drew into war, one after the other, almost all the federal units of the former Yugoslavia.

The failure of the United Nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina is reflected in the grim contents of the report submitted by Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights. Nothing could be more revealing of the lack of effective response to the plight of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina than the candid observations made by the Special Rapporteur. He said that the core of the problem lay in the evil designs of the Serbian side and in the inability of the international community to deal effectively with those designs aimed at creating a Greater Serbia by the use of force. The inadequate response of the United Nations probably encouraged the Serbs to proceed with their land grab and the attendant genocide.

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

Indeed, the Security Council and the General Assembly have spelled out the guidelines for devising solutions to problems in the former Yugoslavia. They have called for a political settlement consistent with the principles of the Charter and with international norms on human rights. They have rightly condemned forcible expulsions, illegal detentions and all attempts to change the demographic composition of territories. The London Conference has invoked the principles of the Conference on Security and Co-operation (CSCE) in Europe.

The General Assembly has also called for peaceful solutions in line with the Charter and the principles of international law. It has expressly mentioned respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-recognition of the spoils of aggression and of the acquisition of territory by force. We express our firm conviction that there can be no compromise when it comes to respecting the principles of the Charter and the international norms of human rights and humanitarian law.

The practice has been pursued by the de facto Serbian authorities in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The practice of "ethnic cleansing", despite the commitments of the London Conference, not only has not ceased during the last three and a half months but it has also been strengthened. Unfortunately, the objectives of that policy have already been achieved. A terrorized Muslim population is massively abandoning its own towns.

Albania supported comprehensive political and economic sanctions against the aggressor when the fighting started in Bosnia and Herzegovina last April. It is obvious that the international community wants to avoid a development that would later create the necessity of applying military measures. But many of the decisions of the Security Council and the agreements between the parties to the conflict have not been implemented. Serbian forces have again

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

and again violated their commitments. At least 60 per cent of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina is in the hands of Serbian troops. "Ethnic cleansing" continues, as does the shelling of civilians. The most dreadful violations of human rights are being perpetrated, with camps full of detainees, and civilians continue to be jailed and people continue to starve.

In this situation, in which the system of collective security fails to protect a State Member of the Organization, that Member's efforts, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter, to seek assistance wherever it is available can be easily explained. Albania does not want to believe that effective help for the Muslim population cannot be delivered because of discrimination. The existence of an independent country is at stake. There is a real danger that, during the coming winter months, hundreds of thousands of people could die of hunger, cold and epidemic diseases.

The country is still subject to aggression, of which its citizens remain the target. The first and only step is to stop it. If the international community does not take the necessary steps to end the aggression, it should recognize the right of Bosnia and Herzegovina to self-defence. Previous efforts cannot substitute for resolute self-defence. Self-defence carried out through legitimate and lawful authorities is the least of the possible steps for bringing to an end the agony of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, must make it very clear to all those engaged in territorial conquest by use of armed force or through "ethnic cleansing" that they will not tolerate such acts and will not recognize in any way any entity so established or any arrangement that infringes upon Bosnia and Herzegovina. Albania denounces in the strongest possible terms the practice of so-called ethnic cleansing perpetrated by the

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

Serbian military forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and insists that the resulting change in the ethnic composition of the territory must not be accepted as a fait accompli.

Serbian leaders must be made to understand that the times are gone when force could be used to conquer the territories of others. They must be brought to realize above all that force is not the answer and that any territorial gains they may make through force of arms and any demographic changes in those areas cannot and will not be accepted by the international community. The United Nations will not accept the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The lack of international control over heavy weaponry and the frequent violations of the arms embargo are sources of continuing grave concern. It is imperative that steps be taken to stem the proliferation of weapons and to reduce the number of arms in the region.

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

While international public opinion has largely been focused on the tragedy and atrocities of armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, less attention has been paid to the continued confrontation in Kosovo between the Albanian and Serbian authorities. In spite of every effort made by the Albanian political forces and the population, the situation is, to quote the report of the CSCE human rights rapporteur mission to Yugoslavia,

"extremely dangerous and requires immediate international attention".

The question of Kosovo, which bears the seed of a Balkan war, must be dealt with quickly. Another Bosnia-type tragedy of wider proportions must be nipped in the bud. We think that measures should be taken to prevent the outbreak of conflict by, inter alia, the deployment of preventive United Nations forces on the border between Kosovo and Serbia, similar to that of European Community monitors in the neighbouring countries; the establishment of a permanent presence in conjunction with regional organizations; and the creation of a no-fly zone in Kosovo to pre-empt Serbian aggression there. A lasting solution to the crisis in Kosovo can be found through an effective political agreement between the legitimate Albanian political authorities and the Serbian authorities.

The CSCE Foreign Ministers could not but stress at the meeting they have just held in Stockholm the extremely precarious nature of the situation in Kosovo. Paragraph 15 of the Final Document of the meeting states:

"The human rights and fundamental freedoms of the inhabitants of Kosovo must be respected. The Ministers called upon all parties, notably the Serbian authorities, to show the necessary restraint. They believed that a United Nations presence in Kosovo would be a positive step."

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

Without these measures, unarmed Kosovans would hardly survive unrestrained Serbian barbarity. The danger of war in Kosovo is becoming one of the most critical problems which the United Nations must take up for discussion.

It is truly deplorable that autonomy within Serbia should be the status granted to 2 million Albanians, while the status of Republic has been acknowledged for Montenegro, whose population of only 700,000 is one third that of Kosovo. Such actions, far from supplying a solution to the Yugoslav crisis, cannot prevent the outbreak of war. The threatened population is losing faith in the effectiveness of international assistance, because the representatives of international organizations are not in a position to prevent the conflict and end the explosive situation in Kosovo. That is why the former Yugoslavia constitutes one of the most serious and, at the same time, most tragic challenges faced by the international community and intergovernmental organizations - first and foremost the United Nations. The Organization must take effective action to protect human rights in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and stop the tragedy of those peoples.

We have to avoid the impression that smaller countries must procure arms to protect themselves because the international community is unwilling to help them. United Nations peace forces should be established in Kosovo before conflict erupts so that the tragedy is not repeated.

Pointing to this grave situation, Albania not only voices its legitimate concern over the fate of half of its own nation, but also wishes to draw attention to the great and real danger that a conflict between Serbs and Albanians constitutes for peace and stability in the Balkans and in Europe. Taking into account our responsibility before a massacre is committed, Albania wishes, from this rostrum, to call the attention of the whole world to the

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

bloodshed and genocide being prepared by Serbia in Kosovo, encouraged by its "successes" in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the weak response of the international community. We appeal to this world Organization and to all the countries of the world to stay the hand of the Serbian regime.

The tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina calls for more concrete action, such as lifting the arms embargo against the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, since the embargo has an unfair impact on its predominantly military fighting forces, and for military intervention. An international military presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a force with a mandate to act in defence of the victims of aggression, would send Belgrade and its agents in Bosnia and Herzegovina a strong signal that the international community will shoulder its responsibilities and stand by the victims of aggression.

The Serbs in Bosnia and their sponsors in Belgrade would do well to realize that the international community cannot and will not remain indifferent to their acts of aggression, and that they will be held accountable for their horrible crimes. The world has heard enough words. We want deeds.

Mr. SNOUSSI (Morocco) (interpetation from French): The international community continues to face a very grave situation in which a young State - a Member of our Organization, Bosnia and Herzegovina - faces a serious threat to its sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence - indeed, to its very existence - in flagrant violation of the principles of international law and the United Nations Charter and in disregard of the most basic human rights.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

We had hoped that the process of peaceful settlement, which began with the London International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, would put an end to the tragedy of the people of that young country. Sadly, the situation has only worsened, and each day has brought its toll of death and calamity.

In addition to the commendable actions of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, of the Co-Chairmen of the London Conference and of regional organizations, the General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted many resolutions on this question, but they still await implementation. In its resolution 787 (1992) of 16 November 1992 the Security Council condemned the Serbian forces' refusal to abide by those resolutions and immediately fulfil their obligations under them.

The report of the Secretary-General (A/47/747) tells of the disappointing results of the efforts of the international community because of the intransigence of the Serbian forces and their leaders. At present, no one can forsee a positive developments that might give hope to the wretched people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Kingdom of Morocco is deeply distressed by the bloodshed and tragedy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The atrocities and systematic terror carried out by the Serbs with impunity, in full view of the international community, their constant, infinite obstinacy and their intolerable behaviour towards innocent, defenceless civilians make a just and peaceful outcome to the conflict doubtful.

Because of the shameful practice of "ethnic cleansing", designed to achieve the expansionist aims of Serbian nationalism, more than 3 million innocent people, particularly Muslims, have been driven out of their homes and deported, thus giving rise to a human tide of refugees into the neighbouring countries.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

More recently the Serbian forces ordered the inhabitants of Sarajevo to leave the city, which, like many other cities in Bosnia, has been under siege and bombardment for many months. Similarly, the forces of aggression continue to intern tens of thousands of civilians in concentration camps and detention centres, where they are subjected to the most inhuman and degrading treatment. Women are subjected to unspeakable horror, old people are tortured and even children are not spared. The Special Rapporteur of the Human Rights Commission has said:

"The situation of the Muslim population is particularly tragic: they feel that they are threatened with extermination. ... There is an urgent need for immediate concerted action". (A/47/418, paras. 52 and 57).

In other words, the international community must respond strongly to these practices, which date back to another era, practices that are both legally and morally abominable.

At the end of their extraordinary session in Jiddah on 2 and 3 December the Foreign Ministers of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) took decisions that clearly reflect the serious concerns of the Islamic community and its desire to play a constructive and effective role in ensuring a rapid settlement of the crisis that is disrupting Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the same spirit, the Foreign Ministers of the countries members of the Arab Maghreb Union reaffirmed at their meeting on 10 to 11 December in Rabat their commitment to the decisions taken at the extraordinary meeting in Jedda and their support for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. More specifically, they called upon the Security Council to adopt a firmer stand with regard to the Serbs and to ensure implementation of and respect for the relevant resolutions in order to put an end to the aggression.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

The scope of the human tragedy and the continuing challenge to the international community by the Serbian forces and their leaders leave the Security Council with no other choice but to have recourse to enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter to put an end to this unbelievable situation.

Should not the Security Council at this stage finally release the legitimate Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the arms embargo so that it can exercise its natural right to self-defence? Is it not time, too, for the international community to ensure that the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro are scrupulously respected, to ensure the monitoring of the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina to halt the military support being provided to the forces of aggression and, lastly, to permit the return of the Bosnian refugees and displaced persons?

Similarly, might it not now be a good idea to speed up the establishment of the international tribunal we have talked about so much so that we might finally be able to determine personal and collective responsibility for crimes against humanity?

While we expect the international community to take all of these new actions we do not forget the tireless efforts being made daily by humanitarian organizations, in the hell of bloodshed and horror, to ensure that humanitarian assistance reaches the area and is distributed.

We hail the commendable efforts of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and other humanitarian organizations, which truly deserve our heartfelt congratulations on the selfless and self-sacrificing spirit with which they are performing their work. Their safety and protection must be our constant concern.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

The appeal again made at Jiddah by the countries members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the international community, and especially to the Security Council, is a cry of alarm that must be taken seriously. The credibility of our world Organization is at stake. Indeed, at a time when a new world order based on respect for the principles of international law is being established, it would be unthinkable if the United Nations could not put an end to this aggression against one of its Member States and at last to end the unspeakable suffering of innocent civilian populations.

Mr. HADID (Algeria) (interpretation from French): The Algerian delegation has constantly been concerned at the obvious worsening of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly was resumed with meetings devoted to that subject. It must be recognized that at every relevant meeting of a United Nations body it has, sadly, become a familiar ritual to note that, given the tragedy experienced daily by the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the measures taken have not had the desired results.

Several months ago my country drew the attention of the Security Council to this particularly difficult situation and to the dangers of escalation inherent in it. Notwithstanding the decisions of the international community, and all the various initiatives, the tragedy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina continues and daily takes on new dimensions, with uncontrollable consequences that threaten the Republic's continued survival and, indeed, the peace and stability of the whole Balkan region.

Today, given the tragic developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the international community as a whole is once again being called upon to act.

(Mr. Hadid, Algeria)

We need to adopt a new approach to the basic facts that have already been identified. It seems to us that the international community will have to deal with the three major dimensions of the problem of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

First, the moral dimension compels us to express unanimous and effective support for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina in their continued resistance to aggression and intolerance. In addition, the international community must remain alert to the condemned practices of "ethnic cleansing," the forced displacement of whole populations and all other violations of human rights, and envisage adequate responses to them. The decisions of the Security Council and the Commission on Human Rights must not remain dead letters without a call for vigorous measures.

Secondly, the political dimension requires us not to yield to the temptation to remain passive; in particular, we must make sure that territorial gains acquired by force are rejected. We must also ensure full respect for the independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and non-interference in the internal affairs of that State. Special attention must be given, inter alia, to Security Council resolution 787 (1992), whose provisions appear to constitute an acceptable basis for a fair settlement of the problem.

Thirdly, the humanitarian dimension compels us to take up the challenge of providing humanitarian assistance to the Bosnian populations suffering from hunger, destitution and cold, particularly during this winter season. This must lead us to intensify our spirit of solidarity and to make more appropriate contributions to the Consolidated Inter-Agency Programme of Action and Appeal for Former Yugoslavia to that we can respond to the humanitarian

(Mr. Hadid, Algeria)

needs of the populations, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this connection it is especially distressiong to note that in his report on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina the Secretary-General emphasizes the inadequacy of the measures taken to ensure appropriate assistance by various United Nations operational agencies.

(Mr. Hadad, Algeria)

By joining in sponsoring a draft resolution on this item, the Algerian delegation will express its support for a coherent, effective approach. Under the draft resolution, with its particular stress on a new Security Council approach to the problem, with access to the appropriate means, the General Assembly would call on the United Nations to shoulder its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. By advocating such measures, which can no longer be delayed, we want first and foremost to give new impetus to existing efforts towards the implementation of an overall solution to the problem of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On the basis of recent experience we believe the General Assembly must provide itself with the means to take up the challenges facing the international community. At its sixth special session, held recently at Jiddah, the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of the Islamic Conference defined the framework and modalities for the new action expected of the international community.

Mr. MUTHANA (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): The savage, brutal attacks in Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the threshold of the twenty-first century - acts contravening the moral values of mankind - are a blot on human history. The innocent face of childhood has been distorted and its magnificent smile erased as Muslim women and girls are raped in the prime of their youth. The sun of civilization is setting in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the souls of the Serbs are wracked with odious ethnic spite and the human conscience is committing suicide.

In an interview with Der Spiegel, the Serbian commander of the Hawks Brigade declared that he performed the task of executioner in the mass execution of hundreds of Muslims in Sarajevo. He stated that the "Hawks

(Mr. Muthana, Yemen)

Brigade", which comprises 1,500 combatants, executes Muslim prisoners on the spot as soon as they are captured to save the cost of transferring them to and maintaining them in prisons.

In defiance of all international norms and the principles of human rights he went on to say that the objective of the "Hawks Brigade" is the total extermination of the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina and that the Muslims only escape from that fate is to accept the status of a minority among the Serbs or the Croats".

We have just heard the news that the Serbs have launched air strikes against villages that overflow with refugees especially in the area of the Dzina river on the Serbian border. The strikes have claimed the lives of 70 victims, including 18 young people.

In this situation, the international community faces one of its gravest challenges at a time of transition that has been characterized by a tendency to settle disputes by peaceful means and by persistent efforts to maintain international peace and security.

In that connection, my delegation, while denouncing the crimes perpetrated by the Serbs against the people and the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina calls for effective measures to be taken to implement resolution 46/242 of 25 August 1992, which, inter alia, called on all parties to the conflict immediately to stop fighting and to find a peaceful solution, condemned the violation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and condemned the massive violations of human rights and breaches of international humanitarian law.

(Mr. Muthana, Yemen)

We call also for action to implement Security Council resolution 787 (1992) of 16 November 1992, which, under Chapter VII of the Charter, set forth appropriate additional measures including sanctions and the interdiction of military flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to put an end to the fighting and restore that country's unity and territorial integrity.

In the same context, my delegation supports the sincere efforts deployed by the United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the non-aligned countries and the European Community to deal with the deteriorating situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In that connection, consideration should be given to the adoption of a trilateral approach: humanitarian, political and military.

To date, however, no firm decisions have been taken, and we should like to draw attention to the consequences of this lack of action. Some 400,000 people are threatened with a bitterly cold winter, with hunger, with the spread of lethal epidemics and with the bullets and bombs of the Serbs' blind spite.

In view of the deteriorating situation, it is imperative to establish safe areas in order to protect the civilian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the extermination campaign being waged by the Serbs. It is high time the Security Council showed the necessary political will by adopting a resolution similar to the one on Somalia, by which it would use all its powers under the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. I need not reiterate the conviction that the Serbs will be deterred only by military force.

In conclusion, my delegation will unconditionally support the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly on this item, because the

(Mr. Muthana, Yemen)

measures proposed reflect the gravity of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General, the two Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee, Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, and the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights for their helpful efforts towards a solution to the tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 3369 (XXX) of 10 October 1975, I now call on the Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Mr. ANSAY (Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC)): The tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been a source of immense concern and anguish to the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). From the very beginning, the Secretary General of the OIC voiced concern over the situation and took a number of initiatives to sensitize the member States and the international community to the plight of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the Muslim population in other parts of the former Yugoslavia and to mobilize a response to that plight. Recently the situation in Bosnia has deteriorated rapidly. The Organization of the Islamic Conference has responded to these painful developments. In this statement I shall recapitulate the main developments and the efforts being made by the OIC to end the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Secretary General of the OIC hopes that the General Assembly will heed our concerns and find our views useful in reviewing the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and for the adoption of further appropriate decisions to intensify the efforts of the States Members of the United Nations to restore peace and to preserve the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Since April 1992, the Yugoslav People's Army and Serbian extremists have been conducting a systematic policy, bordering on genocide, against the Muslims and Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina. More than two thirds of the territory of the Republic of Bosnia has been occupied by the Serbs and more than one third - that is over 1.5 million - of the population has been forcibly displaced from these areas by a policy of "ethnic cleansing". The conflict has entailed unimaginable suffering for the Muslims, who are being

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killed, maimed, raped and stripped of their dignity in concentration camps reminiscent of some of the most ignoble examples of inhumanity in recent history.

Of late this war has been pushed northwards, with the ostensible aim of the Serbs to completely surround and consolidate their hold on Bosnia and Herzegovina. Moreover, there is an ever-increasing possibility of the conflict engulfing the Sanjak, Kosovo, Macedonia, Vojvodina and other regions inhabited by Muslims.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference views these terrible events with revulsion and shares the universal outrage expressed at the atrocities that are being inflicted upon the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Yugoslav People's Army and the Serb militants.

The consequences and implications of militant Serbian nationalism bent on carving a "Greater Serbia" out of the remnants of the former Yugoslavia are self-evident. The unbridled pursuit of this "illusion" would be a catastrophe for the region as a whole. The Security Council has aptly determined that the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in other parts of the former Yugoslavia constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

The Sixth Islamic Summit Conference, held in Dakar, Republic of Senegal, in December 1991, inter alia expressed its concern over the unfortunate developments in Yugoslavia and its support for the efforts of the European Community and the United Nations to find a just settlement, and it rejected solutions imposed by force. Moreover,

> "the Conference expressed its fear that the war operations might spread into the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and supported the territorial integrity of this Republic and its legally elected leadership."
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> (A/47/88, para. 43)

(Mr. Ansay, OIC)

Unfortunately, despite the best efforts of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the leadership of President Alija Izetbegovic, to preserve peace, war was inflicted upon the people of Bosnia. Serbia has sought to sabotage and subvert the peaceful and democratic course adopted by the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina to attain their legitimate aspirations for independence as manifested by the result of the referendum held in March 1992.

The Serbian forces have indulged in mass killings. The people in Bosnia and Herzegovina are being subjected to a brutal policy of siege, starvation and mass expulsions euphemistically called "ethnic cleansing", aimed at altering the demographic composition of the Republic. Over and over again, the existence of concentration camps has been revealed - more than 100 of them - where Bosnian Muslims and Croats are held under totally subhuman conditions.

Serbia has flagrantly violated the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law and by its actions demonstrated its utter contempt for all norms of conduct of civilized nations and of international humanitarian law.

Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of the six constituent republics of former Yugoslavia. Free elections in these six republics in 1990 ended the communist rule in four of them. Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia voted out the communists and elected Governments with national leanings. Serbia and Montenegro remained communist. Serbia, which re-elected communists, now called socialists, wanted Yugoslavia to remain a centrally ruled federation. It was backed by Montenegro. The fear of Serbian domination was aggravated by the crackdown on ethnic Muslim Albanians in Kosovo in the course of the past few years and especially when Belgrade put the province under its direct and extremely repressive rule.

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Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence in June 1991 and militarily confronted the Federal forces, with the resultant loss of lives and considerable destruction to property. Macedonia also declared its independence in September 1991.

As the fighting raged in Slovenia and then Croatia, the European Community attempted to mediate the crisis. At its Conference on Yugoslavia the European Community sought to avert the disaster by finding a negotiated solution. Numerous cease-fires mediated by the European Community to end the fighting did not hold.

While the Belgrade authorities ordered Federal troops to pull out from Slovenia in July 1991, the war in Croatia escalated. Eventually the United Nations Security Council, by its resolution 713 (1991) adopted on 25 September 1991, imposed an arms embargo against Yugoslavia. On 15 December 1991, by its resolution 724 (1991), it approved the plan for the deployment of United Nations peace-keeping forces as proposed by the Secretary-General. The question of the deployment of these peace-keeping forces remained under the consideration of the Security Council, which adopted further resolution 727 (1992) on 8 January 1992 and resolution 740 (1992) on 7 February 1992. On 21 February the Security Council, by its resolution 743 (1992), decided to establish, under its authority, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). On 7 April 1992 the Security Council also adopted resolution 749 (1992), in which it inter alia appealed to all parties and others concerned in Bosnia and Herzegovina to cooperate with the efforts of the European Community to bring about a ceasefire and a negotiated political solution. The headquarters of UNPROFOR was established in Sarajevo. Broadly speaking, UNPROFOR was initially responsible for peace-keeping in the designated zones in Croatia.

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All this time the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina tried its best to keep the Republic out of the Serbian-Croatian conflict. However, following the referendum of 29 February-1 March 1992, by which the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina declared their independence, Serb extremists with the full support of the Yugoslav People's Army began ruthlessly attacking the Bosnian Muslims and Croats.

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a total area of 51,129 square kilometres, has a population of 4.4 million, of which over 44 per cent are Muslims, 28 per cent are Serbs and 16 per cent are Croats. Until less than a year ago, they were living in harmony there. It is indeed most unfortunate that the religious and ethnic distinctions are being exploited by the Serbs to justify violence against these peace-loving people.

The Serbia Democratic Party in Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the leadership of Radovan Karadzic, is in the forefront of this campaign and has the active support of the Serbian army and extremist forces. Even if the Yugoslav People's Army were to withdraw, its Bosnian Serb elements - estimated at over 50,000 - would still remain in the Republic with a huge number of weapons in their possession to continue fighting the Muslims and Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to acquire territorial gains in order to fulfil Belgrade's nefarious design to establish a "Greater Serbia".

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The Serbian war machinery has prevented international relief agencies from gaining secure and free access for the provision of humanitarian assistance to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) was obliged several times to suspend its operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to withdraw its representatives after its relief convoys had been attacked. Indeed, an ICRC representative was killed by the Serbian forces.

Even relief convoys with United Nations escorts have been attacked. All air and land routes for the provision of urgently needed humanitarian assistance to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina have been blocked to a great extent.

Hundreds of thousands of Bosnian Muslims and Croats have been obliged to seek shelter in the neighbouring republics of Croatia and Slovenia. In fact, this crisis has created the worst-ever refugee problem in Europe.

In view of these ongoing tragic events, the Secretary General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference took the initiative of mobilizing OIC's full political, diplomatic and moral potential to restore peace and preserve the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In several official statements, he expressed OIC's deep concern about the rapidly deteriorating situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and strongly condemned the Serbian aggression and the atrocities being committed against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Immediately after the Republic's declaration of independence the Secretary General of OIC urged member States to accord it early recognition. He also appealed to the international community to take immediate cognizance of the worsening situation with a view to adopting firm measures to end the violence and the persecution of the Bosnian Muslims. The Secretary General

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also expressed support for the efforts of the European Community and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) aimed at finding a peaceful solution.

In March 1992 the Secretary General met with the President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mr. Alija Izetbegoviç, at Makkah Al Mukarramah and exchanged views on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He expressed OIC's full solidarity with and support for the Government and people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In early May 1992 the Secretary General deputed the Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs to visit the region. The OIC delegation proceeded to Zagreb but, because of the air and road blockade, was not able to enter the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, it met, among others, the Vice-President of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Vice-President of the Party for Democratic Action and other notable Muslim leaders and personalities of the Republic. The OIC delegation also visited the refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina who had taken shelter in the Republic of Croatia.

The leaders of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina made several appeals for international assistance. The Secretary General received messages to that effect from the President and the Foreign Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Moreover, the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina called on CSCE and the United Nations for military intervention to save the people of the Republic.

In the meantime the Government of the Republic of Croatia also drew the attention of the Secretary General to the deteriorating situation in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina and requested OIC to make every effort to stop the fighting.

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The Government of the Republic of Slovenia also drew the attention of the Secretary General to the refugee situation and asked OIC for financial and material assistance.

The Secretary General also received from member States several messages expressing their concern about the situation and urging the organization to help the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Secretary General maintained close contact with the Chairman of the Sixth Islamic Summit Conference, President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, as well as with the Chairman of the Twentieth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, Mr. Çetin, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Turkey, with regard to the situation.

As the situation continued to deteriorate, OIC's efforts at the United Nations were intensified with a view to securing the adoption by the Security Council of firm measures to end the conflict. The Secretary General requested all member States to make individual and collective efforts at the United Nations, and, in that context, the Islamic Group at the United Nations was activated.

The Islamic Group held its first meeting, at the level of permanent representatives to the United Nations, on 14 May 1992. The member States strongly condemned the Serbian aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and expressed their full solidarity with the Government and people of the Republic. The Group demanded that Serbia should immediately withdraw its army of occupation from Bosnia and Herzegovina and called for the disbandment of Serbian militia forces, which are an extension of the Serbian army.

The Group urged the international community - particularly the United Nations - to adopt a firm stand against Serbian aggression in Bosnia and

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Herzegovina. It called for the imposition of sanctions against Serbia and welcomed the decisions of the European Community and the United States to recall their ambassadors from Belgrade. The meeting considered it imperative that the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), which has its headquarters at Sarajevo, should be maintained and that appropriate measures should be taken to ensure the safety and security of United Nations personnel.

Immediately after the conclusion of that meeting the Group's Chairman - the permanent representative of Turkey - on behalf of the Group, officially requested the President of the Security Council to convene a meeting of the Council and conveyed to him the views of the OIC member States. Those views were also conveyed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

In the meantime, on 15 May 1992, the Security Council adopted resolution 752 (1992) concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina. In an official statement on 16 May the Secretary General noted that the resolution was an important first step towards the assumption by the Security Council of a fuller and more active role in respect of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. OIC expressed its full support for the Security Council's demand that all parties concerned should stop the fighting immediately, respect the cease-fire fully and cooperate in the search for a negotiated political solution which respected the principle that any change of borders by force is unacceptable.

Meanwhile OIC intensified its efforts to secure for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina full membership in the United Nations. The Secretary General addressed messages to that effect to the President of the United Nations General Assembly and the OIC member States and urged them to spare no effort in opposing the claim of Serbia to be the successor State to former Yugoslavia.

The Islamic Group at the United Nations met on 21 May 1992 with a view to coordinating the efforts of the OIC member States regarding United Nations

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membership for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thanks to those efforts, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, together with the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia, was admitted to full membership in the United Nations.

Meanwhile, noticing no improvement in the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Secretary General, bearing in mind the need for the adoption by the Security Council of firm measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, appealed to the United Nations to act swiftly and decisively to end the conflict. He addressed to the OIC member States letters urging them, inter alia, to intensify their efforts in that regard at the United Nations. He also requested the member States to accord early recognition to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to continue to oppose the claim of Serbia to be the successor of former Yugoslavia, to withdraw their ambassadors from Belgrade and to downgrade their diplomatic, political, economic and other relations with Serbia.

The Secretary General of OIC also addressed to the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia a letter urging the Coordination Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement, meeting at the ministerial level in Bali, to adopt a firm position against Serbian aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In a separate message to the Non-Aligned Movement, the Secretary General requested the non-aligned countries to intensify their efforts aimed at restoring peace and preserving the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On 28 May 1992, the Islamic Group met again at the United Nations and urged the Security Council to adopt comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Serbia. On 30 May the Security Council adopted resolution 757 (1992), by which it, inter alia, determined that the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in other parts of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

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constituted a threat to international peace and security. The Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, decided to impose economic sanctions, an oil embargo and an air embargo against Serbia and Montenegro. It decided to freeze all Serbian assets. It also decided that all States should reduce the levels of staff at their diplomatic missions and consular posts in Serbia and Montenegro.

The Secretary General welcomed the adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the decision of the European Community to apply economic sanctions against Serbia with effect from 1 June 1992.

Alas, the reaction of the Serbian authorities to Security Council resolution 757 (1992) was one of disdain. The Belgrade leadership defiantly stated that that was the price Serbia had to pay for supporting the Serbs outside its borders. In Croatia, Dubrovnik was again subjected to attacks by the Serbian forces. On 8 June 1992 the Security Council adopted resolution 758 (1992), by which it, inter alia, decided to extend the mandate and increase the strength of UNPROFOR and authorized the Secretary General to deploy the military observer and related personnel and equipment when he judged it appropriate to do so.

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In view of the continued deterioration of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and after intensive consultations among member States, an extraordinary session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers on the issue was held at Istanbul, Turkey, on 17 and 18 June 1992. The Conference adopted resolution no. 1/5-EX on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, by which it, inter alia, reaffirmed its full solidarity with and support of the Government and people of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in their just struggle to safeguard their sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and unity.

It strongly condemned the acts of violence and indiscriminate use of force by the Yugoslav National Army and the Serbian irregular forces in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It expressed its appreciation to member States that have recognized the independence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and are providing humanitarian assistance to the people of that Republic, and it called upon the member States that have not yet done so to recognize the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina immediately. It demanded that those units of the Yugoslav National Army now in Bosnia and Herzegovina should either be withdrawn or subject themselves to the authority of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or be disarmed and disbanded, with their weapons placed under effective international monitoring.

The Conference welcomed and fully supported the measures taken by the United Nations Security Council in imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, including a ban on the supply of oil, and urged all States to comply fully with those sanctions. It called for respect for the current cease-fire arrangements and for the principles of humanitarian law, including the relevant Geneva Conventions.

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The Conference strongly condemned the non-compliance of the Serbian leadership, both at Belgrade and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with all relevant Security Council resolutions that invoke Chapter VII, Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations which pertains to economic sanctions, and it urged the United Nations Security Council to invoke Chapter VII, Article 42 which calls for coordinated action by air, sea or land forces to restore international peace and security when means provided in Article 41 have proved to be inadequate. It also called upon OIC member States to provide full support to the United Nations in terms of personnel and resources for any measures deemed necessary by the Security Council for the enforcement and implementation of its resolutions relating to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Conference called upon the Serbian authorities at Belgrade to commit themselves to respecting the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia. It further called upon the Serbian authorities to refrain from altering the demographic composition of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to bring about forthwith the necessary conditions that would allow the safe return of the refugees to their homes, while respecting the rights of minorities and national or ethnic groups, including those in Kosovo, Vojvodina and the Sanjak.

The Conference urged all States not to recognize the succession of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro - to the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia until it fully complies with the Security Council resolutions concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina and formally and unequivocally recognizes the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of that Republic and until an agreement on the question of succession is reached among the States that constituted the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

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It expressed its appreciation for the commendable efforts of Islamic and other international humanitarian bodies in providing relief and assistance to the victims of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and approved the recommendation of the Secretary General of OIC to launch an OIC-Islamic Development Bank Programme for providing humanitarian and reconstruction assistance to the Government and people of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and it appealed to the member States, Islamic institutions and philanthropists to make generous voluntary donations to that effect. It also recommended the member States to observe a day of solidarity with the people of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to start special fund-raising campaigns at the national level to help them. Moreover, it mandated the OIC Group at the level of Permanent Representatives of Member States to the United Nations at New York, in coordination with the Chairman of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers and the Secretary General of OIC, to set up a contact group with a view to following up the tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and keeping the developments in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia under review.

In implementation of that resolution and with a view to meeting humanitarian-assistance needs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Secretary General of OIC undertook to mobilize the Islamic institutions and the member States. Thus, at the request of the Secretary General, the Islamic Solidarity Fund allocated financial aid in the form of direct or indirect assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The contribution of the Islamic Development Bank amounted to $21 million for humanitarian assistance and for the implementation of urgent and vital projects for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Several member States participated in those efforts to demonstrate solidarity with Bosnia and

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Herzegovina. In that connection, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Turkey and Kuwait informed the General Secretariat that they had extended assistance to cater to the humanitarian needs of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to help the legitimate authorities of that country to face the situation.

In accordance with the provisions of the aforementioned resolution, an OIC Contact Group at the level of Permanent Representatives to the United Nations, consisting of six member States - Egypt, Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Turkey - and the representative of the OIC Secretary General was set up. The Contact Group on Bosnia and Herzegovina has been in almost permanent session, closely following the developments and making recommendations to the Islamic Group at the United Nations for taking vigorous action in extending the full political and diplomatic support of the member States to the cause of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the United Nations.

On 29 June 1992 the Security Council adopted resolution 761 (1992), by which it underlined the urgency of a quick delivery of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo. On 30 June the Security Council adopted resolution 762 (1992), by which it, inter alia, urged the Government of Croatia to withdraw its army to the positions held before the offensive of 21 June 1992. On 13 July the Security Council adopted resolution 764 (1992), deploring the continuation of fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It authorized the Secretary-General to deploy additional elements of UNPROFOR and demanded that all parties and others concerned should cooperate fully with UNPROFOR and international humanitarian agencies to facilitate the evacuation by air of cases of special humanitarian concern.

In view of the deteriorating situation, the Islamic Group intensified its efforts and held meetings with the caucus of the non-aligned members of the

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Security Council. They focused on the possibility of applying Chapter VII, Article 42, of the Charter of the United Nations dealing with the use of force, and of lifting in respect of Bosnia and Herzegovina the arms embargo imposed on Yugoslavia under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations which deals with the right of self-defence. Humanitarian questions, including relief operations, the presence of international observers in concentration camps and prisons, the airlifting of food and the establishment of land corridors for the transport of humanitarian assistance, were also raised. In the meantime, on 7 August, the Security Council adopted resolution 769 (1992), by which it authorized the enlargement of UNPROFOR's mandate and strength and reiterated its demand that all parties and others concerned should cooperate with UNPROFOR in implementing the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council. It also condemned the abuses committed against the civilian population on ethnic grounds.

On 14 August 1992 the United Nations Commission on Human Rights at its first special session adopted resolution 1992/S-1/1 on the situation of human rights in the territory of former Yugoslavia. The Commission, inter alia, condemned in the strongest terms all violations of human rights within the territory of former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and condemned absolutely the concept and practice of "ethnic cleansing". It affirmed that States are to be held accountable for any violation of human rights which their agents commit in the territory of another State. Following the adoption of the resolution, the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights appointed Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki Special Repporteur to investigate at first hand the human-rights situation in the territory of former Yugoslavia, in particular in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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In the meantime, at its resumed session on 18 August 1992 the Economic and Social Council endorsed the aforementioned resolution adopted by the Commission on Human Rights.

The Islamic Group also decided to call for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly on Bosnia and Herzegovina. After intensive consultations it was decided that the item on Bosnia and Herzegovina be inscribed on the agenda of the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly, which was reconvened to consider the issue on 24 August 1992.

The General Assembly adopted resolution 46/242 on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In that resolution the General Assembly, inter alia, deplored the grave situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the serious deterioration of the living conditions of the people there, especially the Muslim and Croat population, arising from the aggression against the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which constitutes a threat to international peace and security. It reaffirmed the necessity of respecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and national unity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and rejected any attempt to change the boundaries of that Republic.

The Assembly also reaffirmed the inherent right of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to individual and collective self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. It demanded that all parties to the conflict immediately stop fighting and find a peaceful solution in line with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, and in particular the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-recognition of the fruits of aggression

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and non-recognition of the acquisition of territory by force. It also demanded that all forms of interference from outside the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina cease immediately.

The General Assembly reaffirmed its support for the Government and people of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in their just struggle to safeguard their sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and unity. It urged the Security Council to consider, on an urgent basis, taking further appropriate measures, as provided in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to put an end to the fighting and to restore the unity and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In a letter to the President of the Security Council dated 3 September 1992 the then President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Samir Shihabi, pointed out, inter alia, that it was generally felt that much more ought to be done and could be done by the United Nations as a whole to find an urgent solution to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to safeguard its sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and national unity, and to put an end to the fighting and to the grave violations of international humanitarian law there. He also stated that paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 46/242 reaffirmed the right of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to self-defence and that it was generally felt by a great number of Members, as expressed in their statements in the Assembly and in their direct discussions with the President of the Assembly, that the arms embargo precluded Bosnia and Herzegovina's inherent right of self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, and that action should be taken to rectify this.

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In the meantime, at the invitation of the British Prime Minister Mr. John Major, the OIC Secretary General attended the London Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, held on 26 and 27 August 1992. The purpose of the Conference was to broaden the base of the peace efforts and to bring together the principal Governments, including the parties concerned, the United Nations and other organizations to try to promote a peaceful settlement. Convened by the United Kingdom as current President of the European Community, the Conference was jointly chaired by the British Prime Minister and the United Nations Secretary-General.

The Chairman of the Sixth Islamic Summit Conference, His Excellency Mr. Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal, addressed a message to the London Conference. In that message the Chairman of the Islamic Summit Conference conveyed to the participants the deep concern of the Organization of the Islamic Conference over the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the need to intensify efforts to restore peace and preserve the unity, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Among the OIC member States, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Republic of Turkey also participated actively in the London Conference. The Foreign Minister of the Republic of Turkey, who is the current Chairman of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, expressed the concerns of the OIC member States over the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The London Conference on the Former Yugoslavia defined the principles and the framework for a negotiated settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. It also established the institutional mechanism for pursuing the search for a peaceful solution.

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It is pertinent to note here that the Statement of Principles, one of the documents adopted at the London Conference, includes, the following: the fundamental obligation to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the region and to respect the inviolability of all frontiers in accordance with the United Nations Charter, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and the Charter of Paris; the rejection of all efforts to acquire territory and change borders by force; the obligation of all States and parties concerned to comply in full with all Security Council resolutions on the crisis in the forrner Yugoslavia and to do their utmost to secure their implementation; and non-recognition of all advantages gained by force or fait accompli or of any legal consequences thereof.

The Statement on Bosnia, another London Conference document, includes the following provisions: a full and permanent cessation of hostilities and an end to all violence and repression, including the expulsion of populations; recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina by all former Yugoslav Republics; respect for the integrity of present frontiers, unless changed by mutual agreement; a genuine and lasting end to the conflict throughout the Republic and return of territory taken by force; just and adequate arrangements for people who have been forcibly expelled from their homes, including the right to return and compensation for their losses; the grouping of heavy weaponry under international control; the demilitarization of major towns and their monitoring by international observers; and a possible international peace-keeping force under United Nations auspices to be created by the Security Council to maintain the cease-fire, control military movements and undertake other confidence-building measures.

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The Paper on Serbia and Montenegro lists a number of obligations which they must undertake to fulfil, including: to cease the intervention across their borders uith Bosnia and Croatia; to restrain the Bosnian Serbs from taking territory by force and expelling local populations; to declare that they fully respect the integrity of present frontiers; to restore in full the civil and constitutional rights of the inhabitants of Kosovo, Vojvodina and Sandjak; to observe fully the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and so on. The London Conference made it clear that if those Republics did not comply the Security Council would be invited to apply stringent sanctions leading to their total international isolation.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference is represented on the High-Level Steering Committee of the London Conference, which has been set up to supervise and coordinate the peace process. The Secretary-General of the OIC is of the view that OIC's effective participation in the uork of the Steering Committee is indispensable for the efforts of the organization to restore peace and preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is also in accordance with the high importance that Member States attach to this issue.

The Secretary General has therefore decided to establish a Permanent Mission of the OIC to the United Nations European Office in Geneva. That Mission, which is already operational, in addition to ensuring continuous OIC representation in the Geneva peace process relating to the former Yugoslavia, also assists in coordinating the efforts of its member States at the United Nations in Geneva.

In the meantime the Secretary-General also attended the Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Jakarta from

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1 to 6 September 1992. The OIC member States made intensive efforts to have Yugoslavia's membership in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries terminated.

On 19 September 1992, responding to the request of the Islamic Group at the United Nations, the Security Council adopted resolution 777 (1992), in which it stated that it considered that the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had ceased to exist and that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) could not continue automatically the membership of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and recommended to the General Assembly that it decide that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)

+hould apply for membership in the United Nations and that it should not participate in the work of the General Assembly. The General Assembly endorsed that recommendation.

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The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was a prominent item on the agenda of the OIC Annual Coordination Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, held at the United Nations in New York on 23 September this year. The President of Bosnia and Herzegovina, His Excellency Mr. Alija Izetbegovic, addressed the OIC Coordination Meeting, and expressed the appreciation of his Government and people for the steadfast support extended by the OIC to their just struggle to safeguard the independence, unity and territorial integrity of their country.

In its Final Declaration the OIC Annual Coordination Meeting inter alia welcomed the holding of the London Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and demanded that all commitments made at that Conference be fully and promptly implemented in letter and spirit. In particular, it emphasized the urgent need for the effective enforcement of the provisions regarding the establishment of a no-fly zone, control of heavy weaponry; closing of concentration camps and return of refugees to their homes; and effective delivery of humanitarian relief. It condemned the continuation of the Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina and expressed its alarm at the failure of the numerous efforts aimed at bringing it to an end. In this context, it reaffirmed the legitimate right of Bosnia and Herzegovina to self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, and underlined the need to exempt Bosnia and Herzegovina from the provisions of the arms embargo.

On 9 October 1992 the Security Council adopted resolution 781 (1992), by which it decided to establish a ban on military flights in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This no-fly zone has been constantly and continuously

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violated by the Serbian air force, which has continued to attack Government positions in the northern and eastern parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The most recent attack took place today, when the aggressors carried out air attacks against several Bosnian villages, in which 70 civilians, including 18 children, were killed.

The OIC Contact Group in the mean time has been continuing its efforts at the United Nations. On 12 November 1992 it had an extensive exchange of views with Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen in New York. The Contact Group also intensified its efforts to have a meeting of the Security Council convened to consider taking urgent action to speed up deployment of additional military elements in UNPROFOR; ensure sure and secure access for humanitarian supplies to all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina; enforce the no-fly zone; and take steps to bring before an international tribunal those responsible for the abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing".

Thanks to these efforts, the Security Council was convened to consider the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the notable participation in the debate of many member States of the Islamic Group, as well as the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee and the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights. The report to the Security Council by Mr. Mazowiecki gave a cruel and shocking picture of the general situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights referred in his statement to the Security Council to the "massive and grave" violations of the right to life and other fundamental human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He stated that "ethnic cleansing" was essentially not a consequence, but an objective, of this war. He said:

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"A terrorized population, in particular Muslims, is abandoning the dangerous areas en masse. ... Thousands of refugees have been subjected to a veritable hell." (S/PV.3134, p. 41).

The Special Rapporteur also expressed concern about the situation in Kosovo. He stated:

"The human rights of the Albanian population being systematically violated"

in many spheres of life.

"the Hungarian, Croat, Slovak and Ukrainian population [living in Vojvodina], as well as the Muslims in Sandjak, must endure various forms of discrimination and oppression.

"There exists in all those regions an imminent possibility of an escalation of the conflict, not excluding an outbreak of fighting." (S/PV.3134, pp. 41-42).

The Special Rapporteur also stated:

"During my missions, I found ... that [war] crimes have been committed." (S/PV.3134, p. 42)

He added that their further investigation should be continued within the mandate of the Commission of Experts established in accordance with Security Council resolution 780 (1992).

For their part, the members of the Islamic Group at the United Nations condemned the Serbian refusal to comply with the demands of the Security Council and strongly expressed regret over the lack of efficacy of action taken by the international community to stop the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina and to bring to an end the sufferings of the civilian population. They called for fresh effort and decisive action to restore peace in that region of the world. On the basis of the legitimate right to individual and

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collective self-defence, as recognized under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, the member States of the Islamic Group also pleaded for the lifting of the iniquitous arms embargo, which is detrimental to Bosnia and Herzegovina and favours the Serbian aggressors.

In this context, the Security Council adopted on 16 November 1992 resolution 787 (1992), by which it decided, inter alia, to tighten the economic embargo against Serbia and Montenegro. The Council's decision aimed at imposing a blockade on the Danube River and the Adriatic coast, banning the transport of petroleum products, metal, chemical and other strategic goods and authorizing searches of all merchant ships.

In the framework of the preparations for the Sixth Extraordinary Session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, the Secretary-General of the OIC in the mean time had close contacts with several leaders of the member States. He also carried out from 6 to 16 November 1992 a working visit to the United Arab Emirates, Iran, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Turkey. The Secretary-General of the OIC visited Albania from 14 to 15 November to exchange views with President Sali Berisha and other Albanian leaders on the rapidly deteriorating situation in Kosovo. He visitied Zagreb and exchanged views with President Franjo Tudjman and the Croatian leaders, and met with Bosnian refugees in Croatia.

The Secretary-General of the OIC visited Sarajevo on 16 November 1992 and had a detailed exchange of views with His Excellency Alija Izetbegovic, President, and His Excellency Haris Silajdzic, Foreign Minister, of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This visit was warmly welcomed by the leaders and people of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as it demonstrated the solidarity and support of the OIC for their just struggle in defending the independence, unity and territorial integrity of their country.

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On the kind invitation of the Government of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd Bin Abdul Aziz, the Sixth Extraordinary Session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers was held in Jiddah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, on 1 and 2 December this year in order to examine the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Secretary-General of the OIC, in a statement, expressed deep anguish and grave concern about the deteriorating situation in the Republic of Bosnia, and emphasized the need for speedy implementation of all international resolutions on Bosnia and Herzegovina, notably those of the Security Council.

The Conference, in its resolution, adopted by consensus, inter alia strongly condemned the Serbian aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia and the non-compliance by Serbia and Montenegro and the Serbian irregular forces of all relevant international resolutions. It also condemned vigorously the massive and flagrant violations of the human rights of the Bosnian people, and considered the Serbian policy of "ethnic cleansing" and forcing the Muslims and Croats to leave their homes as intrinsically genocidal and a crime against humanity. It reaffirmed its commitment to restoring peace in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions, as well as safeguarding its unity, sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity. It reaffirmed the principle of inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the right of all Bosnian refugees to return to their homes in conditions of safety and honour. It also reaffirmed that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina had the inherent right of individual and collective self-defence in accordance with Article 51, Chapter VII, of the Charter of the United Nations.

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The Conference urged member States to extend their cooperation to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the exercise of its inherent right to individual self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. It also requested the Security Council to review by 15 January 1993 the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions, including resolution 752 (1992), as well as of the relevant commitments made during the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, and instructed the Contact Group of the OIC at the United Nations to follow up with the Security Council such a review and advise the Member States of further measures, if any, that the OIC and its member States could take with a view to responding positively to requests of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter.

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It further requested the Security Council to clarify and declare explicitly that the arms embargo against Yugoslavia imposed by its resolution 713 (1991) does not apply to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to allow the immediate delivery of defensive arms to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by OIC member States. It also requested its member States to assure the Secretary-General and the Security Council of their readiness to contribute finances and personnel for implementing the decisions of the Security Council to restore peace in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It requested the Security Council immediately to take the necessary measures against Serbia and Montenegro, including the use of force as prescribed under Article 42, Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter with a view to ensuring its full compliance with the relevant resolutions, particularly Security Council resolutions 752 (1992) and 757 (1992), as well as to counter and deter further acts of external aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It also requested the Security Council to ensure the effective enforcement of its decision establishing a no-fly zone over the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to deploy United Nations forces on the Bosnian-Serbian and Bosnian-Montenegran borders in order to prevent direct or indirect assistance to Serbian military and paramilitary forces.

It supported the ongoing efforts of the United Nations to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina

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and requested the United Nations and other relevant international organizations to consider urgently the introduction of safe areas, in close consultation with all those involved in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the existing humanitarian effort to supply relief goods through road convoys and air-lifts, but to do nothing that would encourage the Serbian policy of "ethnic cleansing". It also called for the reopening of the airports in the control of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, specifically those at Tuzla and Bihac, for humanitarian supplies, including air-drops wherever required.

It urged the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, the European Community, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Western European Union and all others concerned to intensify their efforts to restore peace in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to act urgently and effectively to stop the Serbian plans to alter the demographic composition of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It noted that the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina had accepted the constitutional principles proposed by the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and emphasized the need to impose a speedy democratic settlement.

It warned the Serbian leadership in Belgrade and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as all persons who commit or order the commission of breaches of international humanitarian law, that they are individually responsible in respect of such breaches and that they could be punished for war crimes in accordance with the Geneva Conventions. It also called for the establishment of an international war crimes tribunal to try and punish those who are guilty of crimes against humanity and war crimes.

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It requested the Security Council to act immediately to close all detention and concentration camps in Serbia and Montenegro and in Bosnia and Herzegovina established by the Serbs, and stressed that until that was done international observers should be assigned to those camps and that the International Committee of the Red Cross should be granted free access to all such locations.

It expressed its grave concern over the increasing tension in Kosovo, Sandjak and the Republic of Macedonia, and its alarm at the prospect of the use of force against the Muslims of those areas, which would have unforeseeable consequences and could lead to a wider regional conflagration. It urged the Security Council to give urgent consideration to deploying United Nations forces in Kosovo, Sandjak, Vojvodina and the Republic of Macedonia so as to contain the extremely explosive situation prevailing in those areas.

It called upon member States to consider early recognition of the Republic of Macedonia, including support for its membership of the United Nations, for the purpose of reinforcing peace and cooperation in the Balkans.

It decided to support fully all efforts to terminate the membership of former Yugoslavia in all United Nations organs and institutions.

It expressed its appreciation to those States and international institutions that have provided humanitarian assistance to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and appealed to all member States to contribute generously to alleviating their suffering, including assistance to refugee centres for Bosnian Muslims in neighbouring countries, especially Croatia.

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It commended the positive cooperation extended by the Republic of Croatia with a view to facilitating the implementation of Security Council resolutions relevant to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly those relating to ensuring and facilitating the delivery of assistance to that republic.

In view of all those developments, the General Secretariat of the Organization of the Islamic Conference wishes to make the following observations and recommendations:

First, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina continues to deteriorate, and the casualty figure is rising. With the onset of winter, the humanitarian dimensions of the crisis are increasing. The religious and cultural heritage of the Muslims is also being attacked by the Serbs in a systematic attempt to erase the traces of Muslim existence in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Second, despite many cease-fire announcements, fighting continues. The Serbs have acquired territory, which must not be recognized or allowed to be translated into an advantage in any political process or negotiations for a peaceful settlement. In that context, the Secretary-General of the IOC welcomes the reaffirmation by the Security Council, in its resolution 787 (1992), that any taking of territory by force or any practice of "ethnic cleansing" is unlawful and unacceptable, and will not be permitted to affect the outcome of the negotiations on constitutional arrangements for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Our Secretary-General also welcomes the reaffirmation by the Council of its call on all parties and others concerned to respect

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strictly the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of its decision that any entities unilaterally declared or arrangements imposed in contravention thereof will not be accepted.

Third, the economic sanctions imposed against Serbia and Montenegro have not yet had any appreciable effect. In fact, it is known that there are loopholes and that the sanctions are being breached. The Secretary-General of the OIC welcomes the adoption of Security Council resolution 787 (1992) and hopes the Security Council will continue to take a serious view of the situation and ensure the effective implementation of the embargo.

Fourth, while extending its full support to the Geneva process, the OIC should ensure that the process correlates with the demands of international legality. The International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia must endeavour to ensure the full implementation of the London Agreements. The new constitutional principles for Bosnia and Herzegovina proposed by the Co-Chairmen have been accepted by the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and constitute a step towards a democratic settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which should be arranged without further delay. The IOC Secretary-General welcomes the idea of convening another session at ministerial level with a view to finding ways and means to implement the decisions taken at previous sessions. He will be participating personally in the meeting of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia tomorrow, 16 December 1992.

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Fifth, the General Assembly has affirmed that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has, under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, the inherent right of self-defence. Bosnia and Herzegovina must be exempted from the provisions of Security Council resolution 713 (1991), which imposed an arms embargo against Yugoslavia. It is evident that the arms embargo has in fact been used to the detriment of the Bosnian Government and has given the aggressor a tremendous advantage. The maintenance of the arms embargo against the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina also amounts to equating the victim with the aggressor.

Sixth, the defence forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be strengthened and enabled to assume full control over the territory of their republic.

Seventh, the prospect of the conflict engulfing other areas in the territory of former Yugoslavia is increasing. Every effort must be made to prevent such an escalation and the widening of the conflict to Sandjak, Kosovo and Macedonia.

Eighth, the humanitarian dimensions of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina require urgent attention. Member States are requested to examine in depth the relief and reconstruction assistance requirements of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In conclusion, the Organization of the Islamic Conference once again submits to the General Assembly this tragic humanitarian case, which will probably have unprecedented repercussions if it is not tackled in a swift, adequate and effective manner. It expects without delay concrete action in

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the form of a resolution that, in order to resolve this multidimensional issue forthwith, will contain the necessary elements adopted by the recent extraordinary session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the general debate on item 143.

AGENDA ITEMS 59, 61 and 62 (continued)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE DENUCLEARIZATION OF AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/47/689)
(b) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/47/784)

GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

(a) REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/47/691, DRAFT RESOLUTION E)
(b) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/47/784)

REVIEW AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT OF THE TWELFTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

(a) REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/47/692, DRAFT RESOLUTION A)
(b) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/47/784)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind members that at the 81st plenary meeting, held on 9 December 1992, the President informed the Assembly that in order to allow the Fifth Committee sufficient time to conclude its review of the relevant programme budget implications of three recommendations of the First Committee, action on those recommendations would be deferred. Since, at that same meeting, the Rapporteur of the First Committee introduced all the reports of that Committee, we shall proceed directly to consider those three recommendations which are contained in the reports of the First Committee on agenda item 59, 61 and 62 respectively.

We shall first turn to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 59, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa" (A/47/689).

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes or positions before the voting.

(The President)

There being none, the Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 9 of its report.

The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/47/784.

The First Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same.

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 47/76).

The PRESIDENT: If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly wishes to conclude its consideration of agenda item 59.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now resume its consideration of the report (A/47/691) of the First Committee on agenda item 61, "General and complete disarmament".

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution E, recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 38 of its report. Action on the other recommendations contained in paragraphs 38 and 39 of the report was taken by the Assembly at its 81st plenary meeting, on 9 December.

Draft resolution E is entitled "Transparency in armaments". The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of the draft resolution is contained in paragraph 3 of document A/47/784.

Draft resolution E was adopted by the First Committee without a vote. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise.

Draft resolution E was adopted (resolution 47/52 L).

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes or positions.

Mr. FOUATHIA (Algeria) (interpretation from French): My delegation wishes to explain its position on draft resolution E contained in document A/47/691, on transparency in armaments.

At the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly, the Algerian delegation voted in favour of resolution 46/36 L. In this way, it wished to express my country's strong support for the concept of transparency in the military field. At that time our delegation explained its position regarding the establishment of a system that would really reflect transparency in a field as sensitive as that of the security of all States. In so doing, the Algerian delegation expressed the wish that there be established within the United Nations a system that would be viable and that could truly ensure transparency in all aspects related to arms transfers, without exception, and therefore a system that would effectively contribute to non-proliferation, as well as to disarmament in general.

Unfortunately, the existing shortcomings have not been corrected. Hence subsequent efforts to establish a registry of arms transfers have not dealt adequately with additional aspects of the question of transparency.

Furthermore, we feel that the report (A/47/342) should have included more specific recommendations regarding the improvement of the United Nations Register in order to broaden it to cover all aspects of transparency. We would have hoped that this question would be given equitable and effective treatment instead of a selective and therefore discriminatory approach. A well-balanced treatment of the different elements of transparency in international arms transfers should have aimed at the establishment of a Register as a universal and global system. This means that inseparable aspects such as national capacity for arms production and acquisition, arms

(Mr. Fouathia, Algeria)

stockpiles, the spread of weapons of mass destruction and the transfer of military technology should all have been taken into account. This approach should also be aimed at correcting inequality in obligations between importing countries and those whose needs are covered by national production

None the less, it was in a constructive spirit that my delegation agreed to join the consensus, first of all to reaffirm our commitment to real disarmament measures, and also to reiterate our full support for the full concept of transparency - a transparency which is universal and non-discriminatory and which can therefore strengthen confidence-building measures among States. We therefore express hope that the Conference on Disarmament will be able to step up its work on the subject of transparency in order to correct rapidly all of the shortcomings that we have noted and to give full effect to all aspects of transparency in the field of armaments which would apply to all categories of weapons, both conventional and weapons of mass destruction.

Mr. SHOUKRY (Egypt): I should like to speak in explanation of my delegation's vote on draft resolution E, "Transparency in armaments", contained in document A/47/691.

Since the General Assembly adopted resolution 46/36 L during its forty-sixth session the focus of attention concerning this issue has been the work of the Panel of Governmental Technical Experts who were entrusted with the responsibility of elaborating the technical procedures and making any adjustments to the annex to that resolution necessary for the effective operation of the Register of Conventional Arms and of preparing a report on the modalities for early expansion of the scope of the Register.

The delegation of Egypt takes note of the Panel's report (A/47/342 and Corr.1) and would like to take this opportunity to express its appreciation to Ambassador Hendrik Wagenmakers, the Chairman of the Panel, for the excellent manner in which he conducted and guided its deliberations, leading to the production of its report.

Egypt continues to support the objectives of the establishment of the Register. We continue to believe that the basic requirements for the Register to achieve these objectives as an effective confidence-building measure contributing to disarmament, international peace and security and stability for all States are that it be a truly universal, comprehensive and non-discriminatory Register of armaments; that it ensure equal rights and obligations for all States; that there be recognition of the legitimate security concerns of all States; and that it provide the broadest degree of transparency in all fields of armaments.

We also wish to reiterate on this occasion our principled belief that transparency and other confidence-building measures are not an end in themselves, but merely a means which may facilitate, and could contribute to,

(Mr. Shoukry, Egypt)

the realization of general and complete disarmament by means of eliminating suspicion and doubt, thereby easing tensions.

The report of the technical experts incorporates the procedures for the operation of the Register. We realize this report was arrived at after difficult consultations among the experts, which necessitated compromise on various aspects addressed.

Though an Egyptian expert participated in the formulation of this report, we continue to have certain reservations concerning some of the practical procedures formulated for the Register's operation, since it is our belief that these formulations may not provide the required degree of transparency vital for its success. We were surprised that the Panel did not, despite its competence to do so, attempt to define arms transfers, this being the crux of this new mechanism of disarmament. The Panel seemed, instead, to be content with a very limited interpretation of what might comprise an arms transfer.

We also note that a standardized form for reporting transfers is lacking, since the description of items to be registered is voluntary. This approach is in contrast to the objectives of the Register, since it may hinder effective analysis of the information provided.

It concerns us equally that the Panel, in carrying out its mandate in regard to considering the modalities for early expansion of the scope of the Register, confined itself to merely raising a variety of questions that may be addressed by the panel to be established in 1994. We believe that it was not in the Panel's mandate to embark on such a course of action, and would have preferred it to address its mandate in this regard with greater depth and commitment and through a more substantive consideration of the issues it had identified.

(Mr. Shoukry, Egypt)

The issue of expanding the scope of the Register remains today, as it was when resolution 46/36 L was adopted, among our highest priorities. Only through such expansion - by means of the addition of further categories of equipment and the inclusion on the Register of information on military stockpiles, national production of armaments, the transfer of high technology with military application and weapons of mass destruction - will the Register evolve into a truly comprehensive mechanism of disarmament providing the broadest degree of transparency. This comprehensive approach is fundamental for safeguarding the security of all States, eliminating suspicions and doubts and guaranteeing the Register's universality.

Egypt will be following closely the operation of the Register to evaluate and ascertain its effectiveness in achieving the objectives for which it was created. We will continue to participate actively in the discussions under way in the Conference on Disarmament on the issue of transparency in armaments, and hope that these deliberations will be successful and will contribute positively to the further development of the Register and the expansion of its scope. At the same time, we must note that since the Register was established by the General Assembly all decisions concerning its operation and development have remained firmly within the Assembly's exclusive competence, in the context of the efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament, in accordance with the recognized priorities of disarmament, and to consolidate international peace and security.

The PRESIDENT: May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to conclude its consideration of agenda item 61?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now resume its consideration of the report (A/47/692) of the First Committee on agenda item 62, "Review and implementation of the Concluding Document of the Twelfth Special Session of the General Assembly".

The Assembly will take a decision on draft resolution A, recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 25 of its report. Action on the other recommendations contained in paragraphs 25 and 26 of the report was taken by the Assembly at its 81st plenary meeting, on 9 December.

Draft resolution A is entitled "Regional confidence-building measures". The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of draft resolution A is contained in document A/47/784.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belarus, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Estonia, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Latvia, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Micronesia (Federated States of), Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Slovenia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Tajikistan, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Draft resolution A was adopted by 159 votes to 1, with 1 abstention (resolution 47/53 F).

The PRESIDENT: May I take it that it is the wish of the Gerneral Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 62?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEMS 33 AND 34 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/47/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/47/43)

(c) REPORT OF THE COMMISSION AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS (A/47/45)

(d) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/525, A/47/559, A/47/574)

(e) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/47/616)

(f) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/47/L.27, A/47/L.29, A/47/L.31, A/47/L.32, A/47/L.44 and Corr.1, A/47/L.45 and Corr.1, A/47/L.46)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/513)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/47/L.15)

The PRESIDENT: May I remind representatives that the debate on agenda items 33 and 34 was concluded at the 66th plenary meeting, on 19 November.

(The President)

I call now on the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, who wishes to introduce draft resolutions A/47/L.29, entitled "Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid", and A/47/L.32, entitled "International efforts towards the total eradication of apartheid and support for the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa".

Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid: Exactly 26 days ago the General Assembly concluded its debate on agenda item 33: "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa". We are here again today to give practical effect to the views so eloquently espoused on the political process under way in South Africa.

In my opening statement during the debate, I urged the international community not to equivocate on the obnoxious system of apartheid or to show fatigue in the struggle to end it. Nor should we prematurely declare the death of apartheid. Rather, we must bear in mind that despite the positive progress made inside South Africa in the last three years, the majority of the people of South Africa are still disenfranchised.

The tragic violence which engulfed the country still persists, making it impossible for a climate of free political activity to prevail. Therefore the Special Committee against Apartheid recommends that the General Assembly should urge the South African authorities to exercise fully and impartially the primary responsibility of any Government: to bring to an end the ongoing violence, to protect the lives, security and property of all South Africans in all of South Africa and to bring the full weight of justice to bear on those

(Mr. Gambari, Chairman, Special Committee against Apartheid)

responsible for the violence. The General Assembly should also urge the South African authorities to assume fully their responsibility for respecting and protecting the right of South Africans to demonstrate peacefully and publicly throughout their country in order to convey their political views effectively.

As Chairman of the Special Committee, it is with real pleasure that I now introduce two of the draft resolutions which the Special Committee is directly sponsoring. These are draft resolution A/47/L.32, entitled "International efforts towards the total eradication of apartheid and support for the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa", and draft resolution A/47/L.29, entitled "Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid".

The omnibus draft resolution A/47/L.32 represents a hard-earned consensus. It covers all practical aspects of developments in South Africa. By this draft resolution, the Assembly would reaffirm the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa and the need for the full implementation of its provisions. The Assembly would also recognize the responsibility of the United Nations and the international community as a whole, as envisaged in the Declaration, to help the South African people in their legitimate struggle for the total elimination of apartheid through peaceful means.

The draft resolution addresses most of the concerns expressed in the course of the tortuous negotiations before consensus was reached on the omnibus text. It accurately reflects the existing realities inside South Africa. The draft resolution also calls on all the parties in South Africa to contribute to the achievement of the aims of the National Peace Accord.

(Mr. Gambari, Chairman, Special Committee against Apartheid)

The Special Committee wishes to appeal once again to the international community to maintain appropriate pressure on South Africa. Paragraph 12 of this draft resolution is self-explanatory. May I also reiterate that it is essential that the people of South Africa should be encouraged by the international community to resume broad-based negotiations on transitional arrangements with the objective of reaching early agreement on a new, democratic, non-racial constitution.

Even in ordinary times, reaching a consensus is never easy. And these are not ordinary times. Developments, inside South Africa in particular and around the world in general, are fluid, allowing for the possibility of different conclusions to be drawn on a particular subject. The question of apartheid South Africa has not been an exception. This draft resolution has, however, attempted to demonstrate how the developments in South Africa should be viewed by the international community in a balanced and helpful manner.

In spite of the difficulties encountered in the process, we were able to obtain consensus on this draft resolution. For that achievement I wish to thank all our negotiating partners. By their forthright and constructive contributions, they have demonstrated once again their willingness to press for bringing back on track the process of change in South Africa, halted for months owing largely to the persistance of violence. I am personally grateful for the support and cooperation received from all the participants in the negotiating forum throughout the difficult period of negotiations.

Therefore, on behalf of the Special Committee, and indeed on behalf of the entire Assembly, I am very proud to present this omnibus draft

(Mr. Gambari, Chairman, Special Committee against Apartheid)

resolution on the international efforts required to resolve the South African problems. It is with pleasure that I commend draft resolution A/47/L.32 to the Assembly for adoption by consensus.

It is also my duty to place before the General Assembly the text of draft resolution A/47/L.29, on the programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid. As all are aware, the adoption of this draft resolution would renew the annual mandate of the Committee and provide direction for its work during the year.

Overall, the language of this draft resolution represents a slight improvement on that of last year. Similarly, appreciating and acknowledging the ongoing positive developments inside South Africa, the Special Committee has slightly reduced its request for financial support for the coming year.

In general, the work of the Committee will continue to emphasize a judicious mixture of continued pressure on the South African authorities and assistance to the disadvantaged sectors of South African society. We believe that despite the twist of political events during the last six months, the political process under way in South Africa requires such encouragement and assistance.

The draft resolution has the potential to be adopted by consensus. Hence its language has been revised to reflect comments offered by many interested delegations. As mandated by the Special Committee, I spoke with all the delegations that had abstained on a similar draft resolution last year, in the hope that they could vote in favour this year. I wish to make a final

(Mr. Gambari, Chairman, Special Committee against Apartheid)

appeal to those delegations: the Assembly's unanimous adoption of this draft resolution would constitute a major success for our collective efforts in the search for an early solution to the South African question.

I fully understand that a few delegations are concerned about the continued mandate of the Special Committee, especially as we approach the difficult dying days of apartheid. May I remind those delegations that I am on record as having expressed the hope that I might be the last Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid. I believe passionately in this. I also want to state unequivocally that the Special Committee will not perpetuate itself after the discharge of its mandate. The mandate of the Committee will be considered ended when a new, non-racial and democratic constitution is in place in South Africa and free and fair elections have been conducted on that basis. That has been our common goal throughout these long years of struggle, and it remains our goal today. Once that objective is attained, the Special Committee will recommend to the General Assembly its own dissolution.

(Mr. Gambari, Chairman, Special Committee against Apartheid)

I believe that the positive approach of the Special Committee, which is so ably supported by the Centre against Apartheid, deserves to be appreciated and encouraged. The best tribute delegations can pay to the work of the Special Committee is to vote for this draft resolution on its programme of work. Let us extend the spirit behind the hard work that made possible the historic consensus reflected in the United Nations Declaration and reaffirmed in omnibus resolutions on the subject of apartheid at the past two sessions of the General Assembly to a unanimous support for the draft resolution on the programme of work of the Special Committee.

Finally, I also wish to place before the Assembly draft resolution A/47/L.44, "Military and other collaboration with South Africa", and draft resolution A/47/L.45, "Relations between Israel and South Africa". These two draft resolutions have been endorsed by the African Group. Mozambique has joined the list of sponsors of the two draft resolutions. Members' support for the draft resolutions will confirm the continued support of the international community for the vulnerable and critical process now under way in South Africa through a phased application of appropriate pressure on the South African authorities.

The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the Permanent Representative of Sweden, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/47/L.27, "United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa".

Mr. OSVALD (Sweden): As Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, I am privileged to introduce draft resolution A/47/L.27 on behalf of the sponsoring Member States, to which should be added Angola, Malaysia and Mozambique, to all of which I express appreciation for their valued support.

(Mr. Osvald, Chairman, Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa)

Since it was established in 1965 the Trust Fund has provided humanitarian relief and legal assistance to South Africans who were persecuted for their opposition to apartheid. It has also provided relief to South African refugees and exiles who were forced to flee their country.

The needed and valuable assistance provided by the Trust Fund was made possible by the unanimous and steadfast support of Member States, which have generously contributed almost $48 million to the Fund since its inception in 1965.

Members will recall that, in response to positive developments in South Africa with regard to the dismantling of apartheid legislation, enhanced prospects for negotiations and the release of many political prisoners the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session authorized the Fund to channel its assistance through broad-based, impartial organizations inside South Africa itself. Consequently, the Fund is now able to assist work in the legal field aimed at ensuring the effective implementation of legislation repealing apartheid laws and regulations and to provide legal assistance to disadvantaged South Africans.

In adopting the draft resolution before it the General Assembly would endorse the report of the Secretary-General on the Trust Fund and express support for continued and substantial humanitarian, legal and educational assistance by the international community. The Assembly would also support assistance by the Trust Fund for work in the legal field and endorse its decision to channel its assistance through appropriate organizations inside South Africa.

(Mr. Osvald, Chairman, Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa)

The General Assembly would also, as in the past, appeal for generous contributions both to the Trust Fund and to other voluntary organizations committed to providing humanitarian and legal assistance in South Africa.

At a point in time when South Africans face the difficult transitional period towards a democratic and non-racial South Africa, it is important that the United Nations should continue its valuable humanitarian and legal assistance in South Africa. I therefore appeal on behalf of the Committee of Trustees that draft resolution A/47/L.27 be adopted without a vote. In so doing the United Nations would continue to assist those in South Africa who are trying against heavy odds to defend fundamental human rights, justice and tolerance for all.

The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the representative of Kuwait, who will introduce draft resolution A/47/L.31, "Oil embargo against South Africa".

Ms. Al-MULLA (Kuwait): I have the honour, on behalf of the sponsors, to introduce the draft resolution on the oil embargo against South Africa contained in document A/47/L/.31. The sponsors of the draft resolution are the members of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa. They are: Algeria, Cuba, Indonesia, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Ukraine, the United Republic of Tanzania and Kuwait. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has joined the members of the Intergovernmental Group in sponsoring the draft resolution.

Since its establishment in 1986 the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa has adopted its reports by consensus, and all of its members have sponsored the draft resolutions on the oil embargo against South Africa.

(Ms. Al-Mulla, Kuwait)

The consensus and unanimity of views of the members of the Intergovernmental Group at this stage have special importance in the struggle against apartheid. We should like to send a clear message to the Government of South Africa that, unless there is profound and irreversible change in South Africa towards the elimination of apartheid, the oil embargo will remain and the Intergovernmental Group will continue to seek the cooperation of all States to implement it scrupulously.

We therefore join all those who have reiterated their strong support for the process of peaceful change in South Africa and their appeal to all the parties to resume broad-based negotiations without delay. We particularly call on the South African authorities to exercise their primary responsibility to bring to an end the ongoing violence and to provide a climate conducive to free political activity. In the same vein we appeal to the signatories of the National Peace Accord to cooperate with each other in implementing its provisions and to all parties in South Africa to facilitate the political process by refraining from acts of violence.

In addition to recognizing the importance of the oil embargo against South Africa and the need to adopt legislative and other measures the preambular section of the draft resolution contains two other important elements. In the fourth preambular paragraph the Assembly will be noting that the most effective oil embargo against South Africa remains the adoption by the Security Council of a mandatory embargo. We would note that, unlike last year, there is no reference to Chapter VII of the Charter in the current draft resolution.

(Miss Al-Mulla, Kuwait)

In the fifth preambular paragraph, the Assembly will be noting with appreciation the draft model law on the oil embargo and welcoming its consideration by Member States.

In paragraph 1, the General Assembly will take note of the report of the Intergovernmental Group and endorse its recommendations.

In accordance with paragraph 2, the General Assembly will request Member States to adopt, if they have not already done so, and otherwise to maintain and enforce effective measures prohibiting the supply and shipping of oil and petroleum products to South Africa. This paragraph and other aspects of the draft are similar to last year's draft, including the authorization of the Intergovernmental Group to take action to promote public awareness of the oil embargo and the request to all States to extend their cooperation to the Group.

We sincerely hope that the draft resolution will receive the widest possible support, thus strengthening the determination of the international community to utilize pressure in order to bring about the speedy end of apartheid.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Barbados, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/47/L.46, "Support for the work of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports".

Mr. MAYCOCK (Barbados): I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/47/L.46, on the work of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports.

In addition to the sponsors listed, the delegations of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mozambique have become sponsors.

The Commission was able to meet this year in accordance with Article 14

(Mr. Maycock, Barbados)

of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. It conducted important consultations with the representatives of the liberation movements of South Africa, namely, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, as well as with the representatives of non-racial sporting organizations in South Africa. While it must be acknowledged that some progress has been achieved in the integration of sports in South Africa, it is clear that more needs to be done in order to end the legacy of apartheid in sports. Furthermore, the progress so far achieved is of such a fragile nature that without international oversight and pressure, the disadvantaged and non-racial sports will continue to suffer, and the integration of sports in South Africa on a non-racial basis will remain an unfulfilled goal.

It is therefore essential for the Commission to continue with its task of monitoring developments regarding sports in South Africa until apartheid is totally eliminated from sports and society in that country. In addition, the Commission, at the urging of non-racial sports organizations from within South Africa, will concentrate on providing moral and material support to the disadvantaged and non-racial sports sectors in South Africa in order to help them overcome the legacy of apartheid.

The two operative paragraphs of the draft resolution contained in document A/47/L.46 are designed to achieve these objectives. I sincerely hope that the draft resolution will be given the unanimous support that it so richly deserves.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind members that draft resolution A/47/L.15, submitted under agenda item 34, "United Nations Education and Training Programme for Southern Africa", was introduced at the 62nd plenary meeting on 17 November.

(Mr. Maycock, Barbados)

Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to inform representatives that action on the draft resolutions submitted under agenda items 33 and 34 will be taken at a later date, to be announced in the Journal.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.